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The Unification of the Northeast By the Ch'ing Prior to Their Move Into the Shanhaikuan (Pass)

- Refuting the lies of the Soviet revisionists in tampering with the history of the eastern sector of the Sino-Russian border

by

Chi P'ing (纪平)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 2, April 20, 1975)

Ever since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique betrayed Marxism-Leninism and turned social-imperialist, it has inherited the mantle of the old Tsars and frenziedly scrambled for world hegemony. In defending their own aggressive and expansionist policies, the new Tsars of Soviet revisionism have instructed their diplomats and scholars such as Tikhvinskiy to cudgel their brains to reverse the verdict passed on the crimes of Tsarist Russia in invading and occupying Chinese territory, to create public opinion for new territorial claims, and to produce essays and special works such as "On the History of the Formation of Russian-Chinese Border" and "A Collection of Documents on Russian-Chinese Relations in the 17th Century." These anti-China articles audaciously tamper with the history of the Sino-Russian border and create a pack of lies. It is nonsensically alleged: the Manchus were not Chinese, and the land in which they settled was an independent country; the Manchus had never lived in the Heilung River valley, let alone the Chinese; and even Ninguta and Kirin and the huge tracts of land adjacent to them were not Chinese territory, but had belonged to Russia in remote times. And so on and so forth.

"Bragging and telling lies stands for moral decline and is bound to lead to political destruction." (Lenin, "Do Not Lie! Our Strength Rests on Telling the Truth!") Facts are most powerful in puncturing lies. What are the facts of history? The Manchus were a nationality in the Northeast region of China; their leader Nurhachi and his ancestors were local officials in the Northeast under the jurisdiction of the Ming Dynasty. Before the old Tsar sent the first group of so-called "new land discoverers" to intrude into the Heilung River valley in 1643, Nurhachi and Huangtaichi and the Ch'ing regime under their leadership had already united the whole of the Northeast and took over administration over the Northeast from the Ming Dynasty. To make public the historical facts in this period is to give the best answer to the lies of the new Tsars of Soviet revisionism.

Nurhachi and Other Leaders of the Nuchen Tribe Were Local Officials of the Ming Dynasty in the Northeast

Chairman Mao points out: "China is a country with a large population made up of many nationalities." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") As early as more than two thousand years ago, China had already developed into a united multi-national country. The Manchus were a member of the great family of the Chinese nation. This

nationality had for generations since antiquity been toiling and multiplying in the fertile fields of the Northeast. But the Soviet revisionists say nonsensically: the Manchus were not Chinese, and the area in which they lived "was an independent country not aligned to China."* How absurd!

The whole world knows that the rich and vast regions of China's Northeast had maintained frequent ties with the central plain regions since ancient times. A great quantity of historical documents and archaeological data show that the Manchus were an ancient nationality inhabiting the Heilung River valley. The Sushen, Ilou, Wuchi, Moho and Nuchen all were ancestors of the Manchus. Let's not discuss the remote past. As late as the first half of the 8th century, the T'ang Dynasty of China had set up administrative organs in the Heilung River valley.

As it was with the many dynasties in Chinese history, after the 14th century, the relationship between Ming and Nuchen was also one between the central and local authorities within one state. The Ming Dynasty set up the Chienchou, Wuche and Maolien commanderies in the area where the Nuchens lived and let them govern their own affairs. The commanding officers of those commanderies were all leaders of the Nuchens since early Ming, and in 200 years there was no change in such political relationship of subordination.

According to historical records, after succeeding the Yüan Dynasty, the Ming Dynasty, in order to tighten its control over the Northeast region, set up several hundred administrative organs in the vast region encompassing the whole of the Heilung River valley and east of the Wusuli River, starting from the Onon River in the west and reaching the Sakhalin islands in the east, the Wuti (Uda) River in the north and the Sea of Japan in the south.** The Nurkan Commandery*** set up in the Terin area at the mouth of the Heilung River in 1409 (7th year of Yunglo) was the highest administrative organ taking charge of these lower-level commanderies and offices. And officials of these commanderies and offices were drawn from "leaders of local tribes,"+ who were "given the seal and authority to govern the areas inhabited by their own people."++ In 1403 (1st year of Yunglo), the Chienchou Commandery+++ was set up by order of the Ming court in the

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* The June 13 Statement of the Soviet Government, 1969.

** "Ta Ming Hui Tien" /Grand Record of Laws and Systems of the Ming Dynasty/, Vol. 125, Military Affairs Section part 8; "History of the Ming Dynasty," Vol. 90, Military Record part 2.

*** "Factual Records of Ming T'ai Tsung," Vol. 62, 7th year of Yunglo.

\+ "Annals of the Unification of the Great Ming," Vol. 89.

++ "Factual Records of Li Ch'ao," Vol. 7, 4th year of T'ai Tsung.

+++ "Factual Records of Ming T'ai Tsung," Vol. 24, 1st year of Yunglo.

Chienchou tribe, and it was headed by tribal leader Aha. In 1412 (10th year of Yunglo) the left branch of the Chienchou Commandery was set up in the vicinity of what is now Ilan, headed by Meng-ko-t'ieh-mu-erh. In 1442 (7th year of Chent'ung), the right branch of the Chienchou Commandery was established.

Like other commanderies, the three commanderies of Chienchou were local government organizations with a military nature set up in the Northeast by the Ming court. Once appointed and approved by the Ming court, the chief posts of the three commanderies were to be hereditary. According to the regulations of the central government of the Ming Dynasty, these officials must abide by the Ming laws and institutions, obey orders and defend the border areas.* And they had to pay tribute to the rulers of the Ming Dynasty. The word "Aiban" in Manchu actually meant "tribute," so "Ming Hui Tien" noted, "When local products were delivered, they were not paid for."**

Engels once pointed out: "Violence (i.e., state power) is also a kind of economic power." ("Letter to Conrad Schmidt, October 27, 1890") The facts mentioned above have fully shown that the relations between the three Chienchou commanderies and the Ming Dynasty were from the very beginning relations between local and central authorities, and how can anyone describe these relations as relations between two sovereign states? The Soviet revisionists obviously have an axe to grind when they arbitrarily refer to a local government of the Ming Dynasty as an independent state.

The facts surrounding the continuous promotion of Nurhachi in the latter period of the 16th century shed further light on these relations between the central and local administrations. Nurhachi was the descendent of Meng-ko-t'ieh-mu-erh, founder of the Ch'ing. At 25, he started to organize an army with 13 suits of armor left by his ancestors, developed his strength rapidly, and caught the attention of the Ming court. Since Nurhachi succeeded to the post as chief of Chienchou Commandery, his "loyalty to the Great Ming" and "merit in the defense of the border fortresses" earned him many promotions by the Ming court.

In 1583 (11th year of Wanli), Nurhachi was appointed commander by the Ming court. According to historical records, in the 11th year of Wanli, Nurhachi's grandfather, Ch'ang, and father, T'a-shih, died in battle while acting as guides during the Ming expeditions against At'ai. Ming "gave him the post of commander on account of his grandfather,"*** which actually meant that he inherited the position of commander from his ancestors.

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* Yen Tsung-chien, "Visits to the Frontier Regions," Vol. 24, "Nuchih."

** "Ming Hui Tien," Vol. 108.

*** "Private Records of Chienchou," Vol. I.

In 1589 (17th year of Wanli), Nurhachi was promoted to the position of secretary general to the governor.* There were three reasons for his promotion: one, he was "loyal" to Ming and contributed greatly to the suppression of a tribal revolt; two, "his grandfather and father died for the country"; and three, he "directed" various Nuchen tribes to defend the Northeast frontiers.**

In 1591 (19th year of Wanli), Nurhachi rose to be governor. He once boasted how he received the letter of appointment of governorship while remaining in his seat.*** In 1595 (23rd year of Wanli), he was bestowed the title of Dragon-Tiger General for his "meritorious service in the defense of the border fortresses." Clear records of this were found in historical documents of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties.+

In a short span of twenty years, Nurhachi rose successively from an ordinary commander to become a Ming official with clearly defined duties and powers. And as a local official of the Northeast territory of Ming, Nurhachi fulfilled his duties and was loyal to the Ming court, "obeying all orders" from the central government.++ He himself had said: "Since my ancestors, we have kept watch over the frontiers for Great Ming .... paid tribute, and expressed our loyalty for a long time."+++ In 1596

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* "Factual Records of Ming Shen Tsung," Vol. 215, 17th year of Wanli.

** "Records of War Deeds During the Wanli Years," Vol. 11, "Biography of Nurhachi"; "A Brief Study of the Eastern Barbarians: Chienchou"; "Record of Observations in the Mountain," Vol. 1, "Chienchou"; "The 4th Registry of the Ch'ing Royal Household," Vol. 1.

*** "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai-tsu Emperor Wu," Vol. 1; "Records of War Deeds During the Wanli Years" also records the appointment as governor"; "Factual Records of Ming Shen Tsung," Vol. 251, also refers to "Nurhachi appointed as governor of Chienchou Commandery."

\+ The bestowing of the title of Dragon-Tiger General on Nurhachi is recorded in such documents as "Records of East China," "Factual Records of Liao Affairs During Three Dynasties," "Records of Imperial Ming," "A Brief Study of Eastern Barbarians," "Outline of the General History of Imperial Ming"; "Record of Observations in the Mountains," "Private Records of Chienchou," "Draft of the History of Ch'ing," and "Factual Records of Li Ch'ao." Although there are variations in time, all confirm the historical fact of Nurhachi being made the "Dragon-Tiger General" by the Ming Dynasty.

++ "Memorial Services for Barbarian Chief Surhachi Who Died of Illness" (39th year of Wanli), Collection of Archives at Liaoning, Ming Files 003.

+++ Meng Sen, "A Study of the Genuine Text of the Seven Hates Reported to Heaven by Ch'ing T'ai Tsu," "Collections of historical Essays of Ming and Ch'ing," Part I, p. 209.

(24th year of Wanli), in a letter of reply to the king of Korea, Nurhachi also said: It is my humble duty to guard the more than 950 li of frontier of the Ming Dynasty. The letter of reply is stamped with the "seal of the Chienchou Left Commandery."* Before Nurhachi proclaimed himself Khan, his relations with the Ming Dynasty were very close. According to the "Factual Records of Ming," from the 18th year of Wanli to the 39th year of Wanli, besides sending his younger brother shurhachi and others to deliver tribute to the Ming court, he himself had been to Peking to deliver tribute as many as eight times.

A multitude of historical facts prove: the Chienchou Nuchen "had been subordinate to the court all along and awarded titles for generations."** From Meng-ko-t'ieh-mu-erh to Nurhachi, being leaders of the Chienchou Nuchen, they were also local officials of the Ming Dynasty, their positions being hereditary.

Toward the end of the 16th century and the early 17th century, the feudal rule of the Ming Dynasty became more and more corrupt as eunuchs usurped power and taxes and corvee were increased with each passing year. Class contradictions sharpened and caused the outbreak of the great peasant uprising led by Li Tzu-ch'eng. "The border officials, civil and military alike," of the Ming Dynasty "cheated and swindled and covered up all their evil-doings," while the people of the various nationalities in the Northeast suffered enormously and did not have a moment's peace.*** The central government of the Ming Dynasty found it no longer possible to maintain control over the Northeast region. Nurhachi and Huangtaichi rose to resist the rule of the Ming court and took over the Northeast territory of the Ming Dynasty and succeeded it. In the two centuries or so that followed, the Manchus became the ruling nationality in China. Marx said: "In countries in the East, we frequently come across situations in which personalities and ethnic groups seizing the political superstructure change incessantly while the social base remains as it is." ("China Notes") In the long history of such a multi-national country as China, at times it was the ruling class of this nationality that gained the dominating position, while at other times, it was the ruling class of that nationality that held power over the land. This is a usual occurrence in history. The substitution of Ming by Ch'ing was but a change in the status of the Manchu aristocrats from local rulers to rulers of the whole country, when a new dynasty was founded.

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* Shen Chung-i: "Chienchou Map" (reproduction). Preserved at Shenyang Palace Museum.

** "Factual Records of Ming Hsien Tsung," Vol. 41, 3rd year of Ch'enghua.

*** Meng Sen, "A Study of the Genuine Text of the Seven Hates Reported to Heaven by Ch'ing T'ai Tsu," "Collection of Historical Essays of Ming and Ch'ing," Part I, p. 209.

But the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, arbitrarily describing the region inhabited by the Manchus as an independent country and the founding of the Ch'ing Dynasty by the Manchus as foreign domination of China, is of course not ignorant of history but entertains a secret design. By denying the Manchus as Chinese, they vainly attempt to deny Chinese sovereignty over the Heilung River valley, so as to further their aggression against China. How sinister they are!

Ch'ing Had Unified the Heilung River Valley Before Moving into Shanhaikuan

Marx wrote in 1857: "It (Russia) has occupied the area on both banks of the Heilung River -- the homeland of the ruling nationality in China today -- for only a few years." ("Russia's China Trade") This remark has most clearly pointed out the historical fact that both banks of the Heilung River were the homeland of the Manchus. But the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, who declare that they are "loyal" to Marxism-Leninism and "have no" territorial ambitions, have shamelessly said that both banks of China's Heilung River "have always been territory belonging to Russia,"* and that "even Ninguta, Kirin and vast stretches of land adjacent to them have never been administratively drawn into the map of the Ch'ing Empire by the Manchus."** To tamper with history, they also babble: "The Manchus are a warlike people inhabiting the Liaotung Peninsula."*** The history of the Heilung River valley, however, has forcefully punctured these shameful lies and sophistry.

In early Ming, the Nuchens were divided into three major tribes -- Chienchou, Haihsi and "Yehjen" Nuchen, and none of them lived in the Liaotung Peninsula. According to "A Brief Study of Eastern Barbarians" written by Mao Jui-cheng of Ming, "The various tribes of Nuchen lived east of the Hungt'ung River, off the sea in the east, connecting with Wuliangha in the west, adjoining Korea in the south and reaching Nurkan in the north." As economic development of the various tribes of Nuchen demanded stronger economic and cultural ties with the Han nationality, as the Ming Dynasty took active "pacification" measures, and as the "Yehjen" Nuchen moved south while the Watzu tribe moved east, a phase of frequent migrations and movements appeared for the various tribes of Nuchen. The Chienchou Nuchen kept on moving around and finally settled during the Chengt'ung years in the upper reaches of the Hun and Sutzu Rivers, namely, in the area of what is known as Hsinpin county in Liaoning Province today. A part of the Haihsi Nuchen moved south to areas north of K'aiyuan and the middle and upper reaches of the Sungari River and along Huifa River. The

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* "Pravda," April 6, 1971.

** Miyasnikov (米亚斯尼科夫), "A Collection of Documents on Russian-Chinese Relations in the 17th Century," Vol. 2, "Foreward."

*** Tikhvinskiy, "On the History of the Formation of the Russian-Chinese Border."

"Yehjen" Nuchen, after moving around, scattered themselves in the vast region east and north of Chienchou and Haihsi, from the middle reaches of the Sungari River to the Heilung River valley and reaching the seacoast in the east.

Migration of nationalities from one place to another has been a usual phenomenon in the history of the world. The migrations of Chienchou and Haihsi Nuchens were but home moving by a nationality of China within their own land.

By the end of the 16th century, the Nuchens gradually took shape as several powerful groups: the five tribes in Chienchou, the three tribes in Ch'angpaishan, the four tribes in Hulun and a number of tribes in Tunghai. At that time, "the various tribes rose against one another in a bid to gain hegemony. Fratricidal wars were fought, with the powerful devouring the weak and the many the few."* Engels pointed out: "The state of territorial division" caused by secession "disperses and offsets the collective strength of a nation." ("Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany") Development of the economy and culture, promotion of production and improvement of the living conditions of the people were possible only when there was political unity and the state of man-made division and secession was eliminated. Therefore, unification was the demand of all the nationalities at that time, and represented the inexorable trend of social, political and economic development. By the turn of the 17th century, the Ming Dynasty had fallen into decay, and the historical task of unifying the Northeast was placed by history on the shoulders of the politically and economically more advanced Chienchou Nuchen and its leader Nurhachi.

The war to unify the Northeast led by Nurhachi began in the summer of 1583, and in merely six years' time the five tribes of Chienchou were unified. Then in two years or more the three tribes of Ch'angpaishan were unified. After that, through repeated trials of strength in the political and military fields, the Chienchou Nuchen led by Nurhachi conquered the four tribes of Hulun one after another.

The Heilung River valley was the homeland of the Manchus. While unifying Chienchou and Hulun tribes, Nurhachi naturally did not forget his fellow tribesmen there who spoke his language and rode and shot in the same manner as he did. Before Ch'ing moved into Shanhaikuan Nurhachi and Huangtaichi had unified the Heilung River valley. This is a historical fact no one can obliterate.

The struggle waged by Nurhachi and Huangtaichi to unify the Heilung River and Wusuli River regions started as early as the close of the 16th century. The great battle of Wuchiehyen fought on the banks of the Touman River (Tumen River) in 1607 (35th year of Wanli) was one of decisive significance. In this battle, Nurhachi, using the few to defeat the many, smashed the main force of Puchantai, leader of the Wula tribe, and pressing

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* "Factual Records of Manchuria," Vol. I.

ahead with victory, captured Kaoling and Huininglu, thus opening the doorway to the Wusuli and Heilung River valleys. From then onward, Nurhachi and Huangtaichi took Ninguta as their central base of operations and advanced victoriously to the east and north. In one direction, they united the "Tunghai tribes" located on both banks of the Heilung River in its middle and lower reaches and on both banks of the Wusuli River, the coastal area and on the Sakhalin Island. These included the Wa-erh-ke, Wochi, Hurha, Zakhalin, Shich'uen and Shihlu tribes. In the other direction, they unified the "Solun tribes" located on both banks of the Heilung River in its middle and upper reaches extending in the north to the north of the Outer Khingan Range. These included the Solun, Tahur and Olunchun tribes.

The area in which Wa-erh-ke and Wochi inhabited was equivalent to the southern half of the coastal region of the Soviet Union today, lay between the Sungari and Wusuli Rivers, and extended south to the Tumen River. The Wa-erh-ke tribe originally belonged to the Nuchen, and Huangtaichi once said: "The Wa-erh-ke and I lived on the land of Nuchen, belonging to the same tribe."* In 1598, Nurhachi sent his eldest son Chuying and others to lead a thousand troops to conquer the Ankulakulu of Wa-erh-ke (around the second tributary of the upstream Sungari), took 20 villages and occupied the Neiholu (upstream Sungari).** In the spring of 1607, Feiyu city (an ancient town 20 li north of Hunch'un) of Wa-erh-ke under its leader Tse-mu-te-he surrendered.*** In 1609, they captured Huyehlu along the bank of the Huyeh River (present-day Tao-pi River in the coastal region of the Soviet Union) east of Khanka Lake.+ In 1610, they pacified members of the Wochi tribe located in Na-mu-tu-lu, Suifen, Ninguta and Ni-ma-cha (situated in the Suifen River valley and the upper reaches of the Wusuli River, the Mingshuangch'eng Commandery and Sup'ingchiang Commandery).+ In 1611, they captured Wu-erh-ku-chen (along the Bikin River of the Soviet Union today) and Mu-leng (present-day Mu-leng River valley) under the Wochi Tribe.+ In 1614, Nurhachi conquered Yalan (Mingyalu Commandary) and Hsilin (along present-day Su-tsu-he River in the Soviet Union, the Minghsüehliehho Commandery or Shihli Commandery).++ In 1615, troops were dispatched to the town of Tung-o-hei-ku-lun under the Wochi tribe (in a place along present-day Na-he-t'a-he River in the Soviet Union).+++ Later, they conquered Ele (now known as the Wumi valley of Pin-hai Province in the Soviet Union) and Yüeh-so (along the Na-he-t'a-he River in the Soviet

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* "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vol. 15, 7th year of T'ientsung.

** "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsu," Vol. 2.

*** "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsu," Vol. 3, "Notes on Eastern Siberia."

\+ Ibid.

++ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsu," Vol. 4, "Notes East of Siberia."

+++ Ibid.

Union today).* In 1633, Wu-pa-hai led an invasion of the Wuchala tribe (facing the mouth of the Hung-chia-li River in the Soviet Union today) and conquered it.** In 1635, they unified Ni-man-a-ku-li-lu (along the Iman River and Waku River in the Soviet Union today, the Maho Commandery in the times of Ming) and the A-wan-lu (along Vyazemskiy in the Soviet Union today).*** As a result of a number of expeditions of pacification by Huangtaichi, the Wa-erh-ke and Wochi tribes throughout the territory submitted.

The Hurha tribe was located at the middle reaches of the Heilung River and Northeast of Ninguta. Like the Manchus, they were Nuchens. In 1618, the chief of the Hurha tribe Na-ke-ta came over with a hundred households.+ In 1619, Nurhachi ordered Mu-ha-lien to lead a thousand men to take over what remained of the Hurha tribe.++ In 1625, Nurhachi dispatched troops to conquer the Hurha tribe at Nanlu. In 1635, when troops were sent to conquer the Hurha tribe that settled along the Heilung River, Huangtaichi told his men: "When you attack, you should tell them that it has been recorded quite clearly that their ancestors were members of our nation. It is because they have been unaware of this that they have kept themselves away from us."+++ As Huangtaichi adopted such a policy of "combining suppression with pacification," good results were attained. During the expeditions, Nurhachi and Huangtaichi adopted such policies as inter-marriage and granting of titles and land toward the upper-level personages of groups that pledged allegiance to them. As a result, the various tribes of the Hurha went over to Nurhachi one after the other.

The Zakhalin tribe was located on both banks of midstream Heilung River. It was also a branch of the Manchus. In 1616, Nurhachi ordered his ministers Hurhan and Anfeiyanku to lead 2,000 troops to attack the Zakhalin tribe. "When they reached the Wu-erh-chien River, they made 200 boats and drove forward by sea and on land, taking 36 villages to the north and south of the river." Later, they crossed the Heilung River and took 11 Zakhalin villages.++++

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* "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vol. 25, "Notes East of Siberia."

** "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vol. 12, 23 and 25, "Notes East of Siberia."

*** Ibid.

\+ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsu," Vol. 5.

++ "Records of East China," Vol. 1.

+++ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," 8th year of T'ientsung.

++++ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsu," Vol. 5; Chin Liang-chi, "Han Translation of Old Manchu Files 10," p. 2114.

The Shihchuan tribe (mainly comprised of the Hoche people) lived downstream of the Wusuli River, up to the meeting place of the Sungari and Heilung Rivers and along both banks of the Huntung River. In 1616, they subdued Yin-ta-hun-t'a-ku-la-la (namely, the Shihchuan tribe in present-day Fuyuan, near Khabarovosk in the Soviet Union), No-lo (in the vicinity of present-day Naoli River), and Shih-la-hsin (along present-day Ch'i-hsing River) -- (respectively known as Ming-hsi-shen Commandery, I-erh-ku-li Commandery and I-su-chiang Commandery). In these areas chieftains, numbering 40, came over with their men, and Nurhachi awarded them and appointed them as officials. Since then, the Shihchuan tribe kept on offering mink furs in tribute every year.*

The Shihlu tribe (mainly consisting of Owenk people) lived in what is now the northern half of the coastal region in the Soviet Union, south of the Outer Khingan Range, in the Amukung and Wuti River valleys as well as on Sakhalin Island. In 1617, Nurhachi sent an expeditionary force to land on Sakhalin Island and small islands nearby.** As a result, the various tribes in this area also started paying tribute to Huangtaichi in order to show their subordination.+

"The Solun tribes" were "native inhabitants" of the Heilung River region, hunting in places from the Chingchili River to the Argun River, from the Small Khingan Range to the Outer Khingan Range and the whole of the two banks of the Heilung River in its upper reaches. In 1634, the leader of the Solun tribe Bardach (a Tahur) led his people over to pledge allegiance and followed it with repeated offerings of mink in tribute.++ In 1636, another chief of the Solun tribe Bomubogor also subjugated himself to the Ch'ing, but "no sooner had he done so than he rebelled." Huangtaichi had troops sent over to quell the rebellion in 1640 when they captured the Solun tribe's town of Yaksa (now known as Albazin in the Soviet Union, belonging to Pu-lu-tan-ho Commandery in the time of Ming), Wu-ku-erh city (near the meeting place of the Wu-ku-erh River and the Heilung River), A-sa-chin city (located on the northern bank of the Heilung River southeastern of the Wu-ku-erh city, belonging to Chu-wan-shan

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* "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsu," Vol. 5; "Outline of Border Defense in the Northeast," Part II, "Notes East of Siberia"; "General Study of Ch'ing Documents," Vol. 271.

** "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsu," Vol. 5; "Outline of Border Defense in the Northeast," Part I, "Survey of Changes in Features of the Sakhalin Island."

\+ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vol. 59.

++ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vol. 18; "Records of Heilungkiang," Vol. 54, "Personality Sketch: Bardach": "In the 8th year of T'ientsung, Bardach came to pay tribute to the Ch'ing court. T'ai Tsung gave him the hand of one of his daughters."

Commandery in the time of Ming), and To-ch'en city (southeastern of A-sa-chin city, belonging to Chu-wan-shan Commandery in the time of Ming). They pursued the remnant forces of Bomubogor into the Ch'ilot'ai region (near what is now Chita in the Soviet Union),* and returned after defeating them. From then on, the Solun tribe along the northern bank of the Heilung River and from Yaksa to Chingchili River (now known as Zeya River in the Soviet Union) was placed under the administration of the Ch'ing government.

At the same time, Nurhachi and Huangtaichi pacified and conquered one after the other the Mongolian tribes as far out to the west as Lake Baikal. In 1594, the north Ko-erh-tsin tribe and the five tribes of the Khalkha sent their emissaries to make peace.** In 1606, they honored Nurhachi as "the holy emperor, to whom the various tribes of the Mongols paid tribute every year without fail."*** In 1635, every able-bodied Mongol of the Inner and Outer Ke-la-tsin were organized into the 11th banner.+ Consecutively, the Maomingan and other tribes around the Olute, the Onon River and Nipuchu also declared allegiance to the Manchus. The Manchu aristocrats of the Ch'ing consolidated their rule over the Mongols by making them officials and through inter-marriage.

After the Ch'ing had the Northeast united, Ch'ing T'ai Tsung, Huangtaichi, made it clear in his proclamation that the vast territory incorporated into the Ming map extending from the Okhotsk Sea to Lake Baikal, including areas south of the Outer Khingan range and the Sakhalin Island, had all been placed under the jurisdiction of the Ch'ing government.++ Ming subjects living in these regions such as the Owenks, Tahurs, Hoches, Olunchs, Fiyaks and Mongols, were as a matter of course subjects under the rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

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* "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vols. 51 and 53; "Outline of Border Defense in the Northeast," Part II; "Notes East of Siberia."

** "Records of East China," Vol. 1.

*** Ibid.

\+ "Records of East China," Vol. 2.

++ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vol. 61. It was stated: "I have inherited the imperial cause of my ancestors, and since my ascending the throne, Heaven has given me its blessings, such that all people located between the northeast sea coast and the northwest sea coast, the tribes of Shihchuan and Shihlu, and people and the land of the silver fox and the black sable where people such as the Olute tribe live on fishing and hunting and do not plow the earth, and whose boundaries extend to the source of the Kannan River, all have subjugated themselves to my rule."

The basic reason for the rapid pace at which the cause of unification in the Northeast led by Nurhachi and Huangtaichi developed before the Ch'ing entered Shanhaikuan was that what they did conformed with the trend of historical development. The realization of unity put an end to the phase of disunity and instability. This facilitated the social and economic development in the Northeast, promoted the cultural exchanges between the various nationalities, and consolidated the boundaries of China's Northeast. This was forcefully demonstrated when the Tsarist Russian aggressors advanced eastward and the Manchus and the people of other nationalities resisted courageously, dealt the aggressors head-on blows, and successfully protected China's sacred territory.

The Ch'ing Government Enforced Effective Jurisdiction Over the Heilung River Valley

The Soviet revisionists fabricate history by uttering such nonsense: "As far back as those distant ages, Russia had started to open up the Amur River banks and the coastal regions which were almost uninhabited and subject to nobody's control."* They also say that "the native tribes" living on both banks of the Heilung River "paid double tribute."** This is not worth refuting. The historical fact is: In 1644, before the Ch'ing moved into Shanhaikuan, the Manchu rulers headed by Nurhachi and Huangtaichi not only took over the vast territory along both banks of the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers, but also exercised state sovereignty over it by enforcing effective political and economic jurisdiction.

In 1616, Nurhachi established the Later Chin regime, which in 1636 was renamed Ch'ing by Huangtaichi. In order to consolidate and strengthen its rule over the entire Northeast region, the Ch'ing government, like the Ming Dynasty, adopted the method of stationing officials and troops there. In the downstream Heilung River, officials and troops were assigned to "guard" Ninguta, while in the upstream Heilung River, there were also "troops stationed" in the areas where the Solun tribe had settled.+ At the same time, the leaders of various tribes that either pledged allegiance or were conquered were offered official positions. Among these newly appointed officials, some were absorbed into the eight banners, and joined the troops in battles, others returned to their homeland. For instance, people like Tu-le-ku-erh, Ta-ta-mi, and A-chi-pu of the Solon tribe, having received their official appointments, returned to the homeland of Solon to administer the local affairs.++ In this way, control of the Ch'ing government over the Heilung River valley was strengthened.

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* "On the History of Formation of Russian-Chinese Border."

** "A Collection of Documents on Russian-Chinese Relations in the 17th Century," Vol. 2, "Foreward."

\+ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vols. 32, 35 and 52.

++ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vol. 56.

The eight-banner system was the Manchu form of social organization devised by Nurhachi in which "soldiers and people are combined into one."* According to the rules, "anyone belonging to a banner is eligible for military service."** With the development of the unification effort, Nurhachi and the Huangtaichi also had the conquered tribes "incorporated into the banners" and called "I-ch'e (meaning 'new' in Manchu) Manchuria." In 1640, the people of the Solun and Tahur tribes that pledged allegiance "were all organized into the eight banners and designated Niulu;" among them those who could be leaders were made officials."+
As to the people of the Hurha who pledged their allegiance, each of their young and able-bodied was donned with armor and organized as a reserve to the various banners.++ In order to expand manpower resources for the army, the Ch'ing rulers "decreed" that every young able-bodied man of "New Manchuria" should "don armor" and "be enlisted into the various banners." The people of Solun and Tahur were good at war and played an active role in the cause for unification of the Northeast and the consolidation of the frontier defense.

Apart from directly organizing the people of the various nationalities along the Heilung River and Wusuli River into the eight banners, the Ch'ing government also exercised control over them through the basic-level administrative organizations known as "Koshan." "Koshan" (meaning 'village' in Manchu) was made up of different clans and families, and the village chief was called "Koshanda," meaning village chief, and there was also the "Kolada," that is, clan chief. This was the so-called "administration of households by the clan chief and the village chief."#
According to the records, the villages had existed since the T'ienmin years,## and even on Sakhalin Island off the coast the same system applied."### "Koshan" had a dual nature, being not only the tribal organization but also the local basic-level organization. The "Kolada" (the

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* "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vol. 7. Huangtaichi said: "The people of our country become soldiers when they are sent out, and become civilians when they return. Both war and farming must never be neglected."

** "General Study of Ch'ing Documents," Vol. 179, Military Affairs Part 1.

\+ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vols. 51 and 52.

++ "Strategy of Ch'ing in Empire Building," Vol. 31.

\# "General Study of Ch'ing Documents," Vol. 271, Geography Part 3.

Chin Liang-chi: "Han Translation of Former Manchu Files 10," Movement of population.

Shih Jung-chang: "Records of the Sakhalin Island," Vol. 1.

clan chief) and the "Koshanda" (village chief) were both tribal leaders and local officials wielding actual power. They had broad powers, and apart from administering the population, urging the paying of tribute and seeing to it that taxes were paid to the Ch'ing government at regular intervals,* they also had to handle litigations in the village.**

Marx pointed out: "Taxes embody the existence of the state in an economic sense." ("Moral Criticism and Critical Morality") The sovereignty and effective control of the Ch'ing government over the Heilung River valley were also expressed in the collection of taxes. During the course of unifying the Heilung River valley, Nurhachi and Huangtaichi had the conquered tribes "organized into households" and ordered to pay taxes in kind. The various tribes that inhabited the Heilung River and the Wusuli River valleys "offered their mink products as tribute yearly" once they pledged allegiance.*** There, material resources were abundant, as described in a Ch'ing poem: "The East Sea region is rich beyond description, and for fine furs, the sable is the most notable."+ The chief of the Solon tribe, Bardach, and the chiefs or clan chiefs of the smaller tribes went regularly to Shengching (present-day Shenyang) from the Heilung River region to pay tribute to the Ch'ing Dynasty in the form of such native specialties as mink, fox fur, beaver and seal skin. The people of Solon and Tahur, "it be officials and ordinary people alike," if they had grown to five feet tall, were obligated to offer a sheet of mink a year.++ The leaders of the various tribes that "offered tribute every year," large and small alike, went in groups of several dozens, or as many as more than a hundred, to offer tribute.+++ This state of affairs went on every year without interruption since the T'ienmin years. In return, they were rewarded by the Ch'ing court with gifts that included satin embroidered with patterns of dragons, court apparel, collars, satin robes, bows and arrows, armor and silverware. At times, Huangtaichi received them in person and entertained them with banquets.

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* "Outline of Border Defense in the Northeast: Survey of Changes in Features of the Sakhalin Island," Vol. 1; Chien-kung-lin-tsang, "Travel Notes on Eastern Tartar," 1935, Talien Edition, p. 90.

** "Notes East of Siberia," Vol. 2.

*** "General Study of Ch'ing Documents," Vol. 271, Geography Part 3.

\+ "Outdoor Notes on Kirin," Vol. 1.

++ "Outdoor Notes on Heilungkiang," Vol. 5.

+++ "Factual Records of Ch'ing T'ai Tsung," Vol. 17.

The Shihchuan and Shihlu tribes, on pledging their allegiance, also presented as tribute such native products as mink every year to the Ch'ing officials in nearby Ninguta. Those living in such distant and scattered areas as the Sakhalin Island who were not able to get to Ninguta in time made their presentations at Pulu (near what is now Po-ka-lo-fu-ka in the Soviet Union), T'ailun (now known as Ka-erh-chi in the Soviet Union) in the lower reaches of the Heilung River or at Iman (near the Iman River in the Soviet Union today) where the Ch'ing government despatched its officials for receiving tributes and issuing gifts. Of the tribes in these regions, some paid tribute once every year, some once every two years, but "there were quotas for every year and rewards were given accordingly."* This had become a rule ever since the Manchu rulers established the Later Chin Dynasty.**

Therefore, what the Soviet revisionists say about the tribes in the Heilung River valley having had to "pay double tribute" is nothing but a lie. It is an historical fact that the various tribes of the Heilung River valley paid taxes to the successive dynasties of China, so the allegation that "tribute" was paid to Russia is made with an ulterior motive.

History has eloquently shown that as far back as the first half of the 17th century, the Manchu rulers, having succeeded the Ming Dynasty, exercised administrative control over, set up government organs, conscripted men for the army and levied taxes in the entire Heilung River and Wusuli River valleys including Sakhalin Island. What an absurd allegation that the Heilung River valley "was almost uninhabited and administered by no one!"

The Heilung River valley was the homeland of the Manchus, and the Ch'ing government possessed indisputable sovereign rights over the valley. This is a historically recorded fact and known by everyone inside and outside China. Even the Russians themselves admit that "nowhere in Russian documents is there any record about ancient people living in the Amur region," and that "its past was closely related to Chinese history."*** Mark (馬克), who "travelled" up and down the Heilung River valley in 1850, also wrote quite clearly: "The Chinese government has been administering both banks of the Heilung River since ancient times, and the Sungari River has always been and still is to this day the passage through which the Chinese government has channeled its functions there. For a very long time, the Manchu officials have come to the Heilung River by the Sungari every year to collect tributes from

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* "General History of Shengching," Vol. 15.

** "General Study of Ch'ing Documents," Vol. 271, Geography Part 3; Chien-kung-lin-tsang: "Travel Notes on East Tartar," p. 34; Wu Chen-ch'en: "Notes on Ninguta."

*** Gansovich (冈索维奇), "History of the Amur Border Region," 1914 Blagoveschensk edition.

the border people along the river and up to the area inhabited by the people of Chi-li-ya-te."* Many Chinese and foreign documents record the fact that the Heilung River valley was administered by the Ch'ing government and that the people paid taxes and tribute to the Manchu rulers have indisputably proved that the Heilung River valley had been incorporated into the Ch'ing empire. Therefore, when such Tsarist Russian gangsters as Khabarov extorted furs from the people of Tahur living in the Heilung River valley, the latter turned them down flatly: "We pay tribute to Samusakhan (the Emperor of China). Why should we offer them to you?"** "If you insist on forcing us, we will have to fight."*** Such is the heroic courage shown by the various nationalities of China in resisting foreign aggression. Where there is oppression, there is resistance, and where there is aggression, there is struggle against it. When Khabarov and his gang started to raid the homes of the Tahurs and slaughter them mercilessly, the latter put up a fiery fight, tenaciously defending their homeland.

"The Chinese people have for the past hundred years conducted courageous struggles with great fortitude and drive, such that imperialism has even to this day been unable to subjugate China and never will." (Mao Tse-tung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") The fond dreams of the old Tsars in trying to exterminate China were shattered, and attempts of the new Tsars to follow in their footsteps can only result in their heads smashed against a stone wall!

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* Mark: "Travels in Heilungkiang."

** Russian Committee on Ancient Documents: "Supplementary Edition to Historical Documents," Vol. 3, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 58-59.

*** Soloveyev (索洛维约夫): "Ancient History of Russia," Vol. 12, 1879, Petersburg edition.

The Red Army's Third Anti-"Encirclement and Suppression" Campaign

by

Shih Feng (史锋)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 18, 1975)

In the 10-year civil war period, after the Kuomintang failed in its second counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaign against our revolutionary base areas, Chiang Kai-shek, like a gambler with blood-shot eyes, wanted to recoup his losses. He convened a meeting of his generals, still shaken with fear, in Nanch'ang and organized and directed the third counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaign against our Central Red Army.

Chiang Kai-shek thought that "encirclements were unsuccessful" in the past because his troops were dispersed and placed under divided commands. So, on this occasion, he decided to command the operations in person. He gathered together 300,000 troops, of whom 100,000 were his "crack troops" dear to his heart. Under planning by foreign block-headed military advisers, he adopted the tactics of "driving long and deep" and "attacking jointly from several directions." Offensives were launched from three routes against our central base areas in a vain attempt to wipe out in a single swoop our Red Army along the Kan River. He clamored fantastically: "We'll 'wipe out' the Communist troops in Kiangsi in three months."

Under the able command of Chairman Mao, our army, applying flexible strategy and tactics of mobile warfare, evaded the main force of the enemy and attacked his weak points, swallowing up one enemy unit after another while they were on the run. In less than three months from July to September 1931, our army with 30,000 men crushed the separate attacks by 300,000 enemy troops, wiped out more than 30,000 of them, and captured over 20,000 rifles. On this large stage of the central base areas, Chairman Mao led the army and the people to perform one vivid drama after another, which was full of color and splendor.

March into the Flanks and Rear of the Enemy Troops

In July 1931, the enemy troops advanced on our central base areas from three directions. In a very short time almost all revolutionary base areas in Kiangsi were lost. At that time, our army had only 30,000 men and was inferior in weapons and equipment. Especially after the bitter fighting during the second anti-"encirclement and suppression" campaign, we had not had the time to rest and replenish, and our main force was far away in western Fukien. The situation was extremely precarious. Chairman Mao correctly analyzed the condition of the enemy. Of the 300,000 enemy troops, some 200,000 were not Chiang Kai-shek's own troops, and they were rent by internal contradictions. Among them, such units as that led by Hao Meng-ling were hastily organized and transferred from the north and were not used

to jungle warfare. Moreover, battered during the second anti-"encirclement and suppression" campaign, they had become frightened birds. Thus it was possible to make use of the enemy's contradictions, grasp his weak links and smash his forces one by one. To this end, Chairman Mao formulated for our army the fighting principle of evading the main force of the enemy and attacking his weak points. It was decided to call back the main force of the Red Army, which was to break into Fut'ien and get to the rear of the enemy via Juichin, Hsingkuo and Wan-an. Then, it was to sweep across from west to east, lose the main force of the enemy in the base areas in southern Kiangsi and tie it down there. When the enemy troops turned back, they would certainly be very tired out, and we should then wipe them out one by one by taking advantage of opportune moments.

In order to carry out this strategic plan set by Chairman Mao, our army drove through the narrow mountain paths in western Fukien and southern Kiangsi, bypassed the vanguard units of the enemy troops which had penetrated deep into the Soviet area and amassed toward the Hsingkuo area. July was a very hot month, but the heroic Red Army men said: "During the last anti-encirclement and suppression' campaign, our army swept through 700 li behind the enemy lines and won five battles in 15 days. In doing this, we depended on our legs. Now that Chiang Kai-shek is coming, let's put the noose around his neck and give him a sounder beating!" To beat Chiang Kai-shek, everyone had to endure all kinds of difficulties: when their uniforms were soaked with sweat, they dried them by twisting them; when their straw sandals were worn out, they wrapped their feet with cloth; when their comrades-in-arms fell ill, they cared for them and carried them by stretchers; when they were running out of food supply, they gave to each other whatever food remained..... The whole army was united as one man. After ten days of quick march, it victoriously reached Hsingkuo county in the Red area. The masses of people, hearing that the Red Army had returned to fight Chiang Kai-shek, offered the troops clothes, food and eggs. In no time the local Party organization prepared food and stretchers for the troops and organized Red Guard units to fight alongside the army.

On July 31, our army drove speedily forward along the predetermined route toward Fut'ien. Suddenly the situation changed. The enemy had discovered the intentions of our army and had rushed to Fut'ien before us two divisions under Ch'en Ch'eng and Lo Cho-ying. At that time, the enemy troops, totalling 12 divisions, were closing on our army from three directions -- the east, south and north. The situation was extremely critical. Acting resolutely, Chairman Mao decided to change our army's plan of action by having the units promptly diverted back to the jungles -- where they could take cover -- along the Kaohsing market town west of Hsingkuo and then from there driving forward toward Lient'ang, Liangts'un and Huangpo east of Hsingkuo. That very night, the 30,000 troops of our main force quietly and safely moved to the jungles along the Kaohsing market town without being detected by the enemy. In the daytime it was all quiet in the jungles. Three enemy planes circled the sky in low altitude a few times and then flew away without discovering anything suspicious, while our Red Army men were having a sound sleep in the jungles with dense undergrowth. The fighters laughed: "The enemy troops around us are performing

'sentry duties' for us, and enemy planes are 'covering' us. And they are given a good mark by Chiang Kai-shek!" Moreover, the fighters took advantage of this lull to make straw sandals, discuss operational plans, clean their rifles and sharpen their bayonets. When the curtain of night fell, they, like fierce tigers, dashed out of the mountain and marched quickly toward Lient'ang....

First Operate on Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang

For the Red Army which was in a defensive position to smash the powerful "advancing and suppressing" troops, the first battle of counter-attack was most important. On August 6, our army, as originally planned, arrived at the foothill southwest of Lient'ang, where the enemy troops advancing in the central direction had to pass through. Then and there, we encountered the 47th division led by Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang. That night, when the enemy division arrived here, it did not discover our army's movement and the commander Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang ordered his troops to camp and have a good sleep over the night. What a coincidence. Chairman Mao had long ago decided to first take Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang and wipe out his lonely troops. The vanguard company of our Third Army Corps secretly started climbing up a hilltop. When they were fast approaching the hill-top, they were discovered by the enemy. At this time, the fighters of the company charged forward bravely and caught the enemy unawares. One company of the enemy defending the hilltop was promptly wiped out. Our army was thus able to gain control of a vantage point. At dawn, it started a general offensive. The Red Army fighters, brave and intelligent, made use of each hilltop and high ground as cover and demonstrated their might in close-quarter fighting: appearing from nowhere in one moment and shooting from behind rocks in another. The enemy troops, unaccustomed to jungle fighting, lost their heads and fired aimlessly. Soon, the enemy troops skirting the Lient'ang market town were totally wiped out.

Meanwhile, Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang, thinking all had gone well, was enjoying his opium smoking in his camp. Hearing the sound of gun-fire, he was so frightened that he trembled and almost smashed his opium pipe and lamp. His orderly reported with panic: Our troops have been surrounded by communist troops, most positions skirting the Lient'ang market town have been lost, and the brigade commander T'an Tzu-chün is calling for help. Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang turned pale. Scarcely had he held his breath than our troops stormed into the market place. "Take Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang alive!" "Lay down your arms or get killed!" Battle cries were deafening. To save his own skin, Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang, taking with him two or three adjutants and a few horses, hurriedly fled to Lungkang more than 90 li away from the firing line.

Enemy troops retreating from the outskirts huddled themselves in the Lient'ang market place and resisted stubbornly in houses and streets. Our troops engaged them in hand-to-hand fighting. At this moment the enemy planes came, hovering and firing for a while over the market place and dropped a few bombs. The bombs fell on the enemy positions preparing to fight back, killing men and horses. Our troops charged forward and totally wiped out Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang's division, killing or wounding

the enemy's deputy divisional commander, chief of staff and brigade chief. A large quantity of rifles, ammunition, silver coins and paper money was seized. Pointing at a banknote with the head of Chiang Kai-shek inset in it, the fighters laughed, saying: "Chiang Kai-shek, this transport brigade chief who feels pain even when he issues some provisions in ordinary times, has now 'generously' provided us with a lot of money. Let's count and take them!" The victory of the first battle at Lient'ang greatly boosted the morale of our army while deflating the arrogance of the enemy, filling the Hao Meng-ling division which cringled east of Lient'ang with extreme fright.

Swallow Up Hao Meng-ling, Soundly Beat Mao Ping-wen

While fighting was going on in Lient'ang , Hao Meng-ling stretched out his head like a tortoise crawling on the sand and wanted to make a clumsy move. When, by a powerful thrust, our troops wiped out all of the division under Shang-kuan Yün-hsiang, Hao was so frightened by the news that he withdrew his head into the shell, and retreated to take up a defensive position in Liangts'un. He could never have expected that right on the day our army took Lient'ang, the 1st Army Corps of our Red Army immediately pushed east and speedily confronted Hao's 54th division. Concentrating a superior force and acting swiftly our army captured the hilltops and high grounds surrounding Liangts'un in many directions making Hao a fish in a jar. Then, our army attacked and swallowed up the greater part of the defending enemy troops. Only a small number of enemy troops managed to escape.

Did the defeated troops want to escape? They could never do that! In the Red area solid walls of iron and steel had been put up and a wide net cast. Our local guerrilla forces were waiting for them on the mountains leading from Liangts'un to Yüehhsi! "The enemy is coming!" A barrage of shots was fired,striking fear into the spines of the fleeing enemy. In fact, this guerrilla force had only 40 peasants wearing plain-clothes and 28 home-made rifles. But the enemy did not know this and thought that he had again encountered the main force of our Red Army. Taking advantage of the enemy's ignorance, our guerrilla fighters raised a hue and cry everywhere, causing the enemy to feel that, confronted with strong troops all around, he had no choice but to lay down his arms and surrender. They numbered more than 600. The guerrilla fighters took over the enemies' weapons including machine guns and 20 German carbine pistols.

News of the victory of the Liangts'un battle scared Chou Hun-yuan, who was defending Lungkang north of Liangts'un. It was here that Chang Hui-tsan was captured alive during the first anti-"encirclement and suppression" campaign. Chou, fearing that he might end up like Chang, ordered his unit to build more defense works on the big and small hill-tops on all sides and sent a SOS to Chiang Kai-shek. Our army, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, decided to avoid battle with the enemy who was prepared and left only the Third Army of the Red Army behind to feign an attack. The 1st and 3rd Army Corps of the main force

and the 7th Army of the Red Army pushed east at night. In the morning of August 11, they suddenly besieged two regiments of Mao Ping-wen guarding Huangpo. The Huangpo market town was located on a height, easy to defend and difficult to attack, and more defense works had been built. This made Mao think that he could not lose. "Generally, the Red Army fights by making surprise raids." Our army, taking the enemy unawares, concentrated its manpower and firepower and bugles and launched a general offensive against the enemy during a heavy rainstorm. In no time the front defense works built painstakingly by Mao were completely destroyed by concentrated artillery fire. Then, the sound of dozens of bugles broke the silence of the sky, and our army charged bravely. The Huangpo market town was engulfed in flame and smoke. The enemy troops fled helter-skelter, crying for their mums and dads. A cavalry company of Mao's unit, even when it had put the saddles on its horses, did not have the time to escape and was completely taken prisoner. After one hour of fierce fighting, Mao's two regiments were totally wiped out.

Under Chairman Mao's direct command, our army, avoiding the strong points of the enemy and attacking his weak points, fought and won three battles in a short span of five days and totally wiped out the enemy's two divisions plus two regiments, thereby greatly demoralizing Chiang Kai-shek. However, irreconciled to defeat, Chiang continued to stage one show after another.

Lead the "Stupid Pigs" in a Big Parade

The main force of the enemy troops which had driven deep into Hsingkuo and nearby places of the Red area originally wanted to push our army to the edge of the Kan River where it could be destroyed at a single stroke. However, after more than a month of tiresome march, they had not discovered even the shadow of our main force. Ch'en Ch'eng, scratching his head and knowing not what to do, angrily cursed the "communist troops for being very tricky." What else could he do? After the enemy troops defending Lient'ang, Liangts'un and Huangpo suffered a string of blows from us, Chiang Kai-shek eventually woke up and hurriedly ordered his main force to turn around and drive east, closing on the main force of our Red Army in a big encirclement ring.

On the military map in our general headquarters, the encirclement ring formed by the blue arrows of the enemy troops was getting smaller and smaller. The situation was changing rapidly: The Ch'en (Ch'eng) and Lo (Cho-ying) columns were advancing in pursuit of us from northwest, the Chiang (Kuang-nai), Ts'ai (T'ing-k'ai) and Han (Te-ch'in) columns from southwest, the army under Sun Lien-chung from southeast, the army under Chu Shao-liang from north and northeast, and the three divisions under Chao (Kuan-t'ao), Wei (Li-huang) and Chiang (Ting-wen) respectively were advancing behind us. Totalling 200,000 men, they were pressing ahead against our Red Army in an encirclement ring.

While the enemy troops were trying to surround us, we stood unmoved and did not give way to fear. After taking Huangpo, our troops set out from Yangchai Village the same night and, after crossing several mountain

ridges, arrived at a valley flanked by tall mountains at the junction of Yungfeng, Ningtu and Hsingkuo counties. Camping on a sandy beach by the side of a brook, we lit a lamp and spread out a map. Chairman Mao and the commanders of the general headquarters were making an analysis of the enemy's movement: The enemies along the two sides of the valley were both 15 li away from us and left only the gap measuring 20 li in the direction of Hsingkuo unclosed. A decision was immediately taken: The 12th army of our Red Army, pretending to be a large force of the Red Army, should lead the enemy by the nose toward the east, and the rest of the army drive west through the gap in the direction of Hsingkuo and by covert march break out of the encirclement.

That night, the 12th army, acting on orders from Chairman Mao and the general headquarters, deliberately drove through the empty space between the enemy troops and headed majestically toward northeast. The enemy, who had all along wanted to engage our main force for a decisive battle, thought that he had discovered our "main force" and immediately followed. At daybreak, enemy planes were hovering over our 12th army and gleefully reported to their master.

In order to confuse the enemy and to firmly lead the "stupid pigs" by the nose, our army marched and then halted, maintaining a certain distance with the enemy troops. Moreover, it lengthened its line, making a company look like a battalion. The fighters waved large and small banners and blankets of various colors and shouted all along the way. In the more dusty places, they deliberately trampled on the ground, stirring up the yellow dust. From the air, the scene was a magnificent one: a force of a few thousand men looked like a large army of several tens of thousands. Enemy planes continued filing reports to Chiang Kai-shek at Nanch'ang on "new" developments.

After receiving this intelligence, Chiang Kai-shek concluded that the main force of our army was "fleeing north." So, he immediately ordered his men to close on our 12th army from all directions. And in order to further confuse the enemy and make him come to us, our 12th army laid more traps along the way: at each road junction, it painted an arrow with lime with these words: "The 3rd Army Corps is heading north from here," "the 4th Army is heading east here,"..... when it camped, it wrote on the door of a house stating: "X X division, X X regiment, X X company were here." As expected, the enemy troops behind our trails were all misled by our 12th army.

In order to drag the enemy farther away and to cover the breakthrough of the main force of our Red Army toward the west, the 12th army deliberately took to tall mountains and hazardous paths. This to the Red Army men meant nothing, but to the enemy troops who had to carry heavy equipment, had difficulties in replenishment and lacked training in jungle warfare, it was intolerable torture. Thus, our 12th army led the enemy troops toward the northeast to Kuchu and Chinchu in Lo-an via Paisha and T'engt'ien. In the forests north of Tungshao, it subdued a part of the rearguard force of the enemy troops at night and recovered Huangpo and Hsiaopu of the Red area. On the way, the clumsy enemy found it even

more difficult to move an inch as a result of raids by our local guerrilla forces. Up to then, the enemy troops had marched in vain and fell into a big trap. Chiang Kai-shek's senior generals could not but sigh with despair: "The Communists appear from nowhere and disappear into nowhere, and the people's guerrilla war causes Generalissimo Chiang a great headache."

Shuttle Before Enemy Troops

We must close the eyes and ears of the enemy as far as possible, so that they will become blind and deaf. We must confuse their commanders as much as possible, so that they will become lunatics. This is the way to win our victory.

While the enemy troops were led by the nose by our 12th army to stage "a big parade" toward northeast, the main force of our Red Army marched west rapidly and quietly through the narrow strips left unguarded by the enemy at night. Our army general headquarters issued this order: during the march, no sound is to be uttered, no light to be lit, and no flash light to be turned on. The main force pushed west along the meandering streams on mountains and in ravines. At night, stars were sparkling over the sky and mountains winds were howling. The sound of gunfire came frequently from distant places. All of a sudden, there was no road ahead; the main force had come to an uninhabited jungle. At this moment a stout shadowy figure appeared before them. He would halt to talk to the fighters concernedly and then speak to the commanding officers in low voice. The fighters whispered to each other's ear: "Have you seen him? The General Political Commissar Mao!" Chairman Mao stood calmly and smiled. His clothes which had been wet by dew left traces of being torn by thorns. The truth was that Chairman Mao and the commanders of the general headquarters were trying to find an outlet. Chairman Mao linked his hearts with those of the fighters; the sight of the former added to the inexhaustible strength of the latter. Everyone remembered that Chairman Mao had been commanding the units ever since their return from far-away western Fukien. Traces of Chairman Mao's footprints were left behind on the journey of a thousand li, and during the battles at Lient'ang, Liangts'un and Huangpo, he had personally gone to the front to see things for himself. On the beaches within Yungfeng county, he drew up a breakway plan for our army under a small lamp..... Now Chairman Mao was walking ahead of us, trying to find a way out through the jungle and lead the troops forward. Everyone had this faith: With Chairman Mao in command, we will win. After a night of quick march, the units broke away from the encirclement and arrived at Fengpien and Paishih within Hsingkuo county where they amassed and waited for new orders.

"General Political Commissar Mao is back with the forces!" The masses of people, who had been hiding in the mountains after burning everything in their villages, now formed themselves into groups and flocked to the roadsides and approaches to the villages, singing loudly to welcome the Red Army: "The more we sing, the happier we are, singing from the eastern mountain to the western mountain. Heroes join the Red Army and red flags flutter over the mountains!....." Here the units began to rest and consolidate. When the enemy troops which had been pursuing our 12th

army discovered that they had been cheated and turned around to push west, our main force had been resting for half a month in the Hsingkuo area.

Thus, the enemy troops were made to suffer, being led by the nose from east to west and marching in circles in the Red area. As the masses carried out a scorched earth policy, the enemy could not find any food and often had to endure hunger. Even when they cut the rice plants that belonged to the people, they could not unhusk them and could not eat them. During march, they were often raided; when they camped, they were attacked everywhere. Tired and short of food and horses, they felt despondent. Even the leaders of the enemy troops were obliged to admit: "The fat grow lean, the lean perish," "fighting with Red Army is like serving a life sentence." Finally, they had no choice but to roll up their banners and wrap up their drums and stage a general retreat.

Get Hold of the Fleeing Enemy, Chase and Wipe Out Han Te-ch'in's Division

While the enemy suffered a lot from being led by the nose, our army, after a period of rest and consolidation, emerged fresh and vigorous and had long been in array waiting for them in the delta area of Hsingkuo, Wan-an and T'aoho! Hearing that the enemy dared not advance west and was retreating, the fighters, filled with indignation, asked to fight. In order to expand the victory and wipe out more enemy, our army on September 7 started chasing after the enemy by three separate routes.

The Third Army, which was advancing in the left direction, first lay in ambush along Laoyingpan and the Kaohsing market town, waiting for the enemy to come. At this time, Chang Ting-wen's 9th division was passing through here while escaping from Hsingkuo toward Chi-an. Our army got hold of Chiang Ting-wen and wiped out one brigade. Then, the Third Army Corps on the right route and the 1st Army Corps on the middle route got hold of the units under Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai and Chiang Kuang-nai in areas west and north of the Kaohsing market town. After fierce fighting, our army routed the fleeing enemy troops, forcing them to hurriedly change their course and escape toward Kanchou from the Ch'unghsien area.

The enemy troops, like rats running across the street, were beaten everywhere. On September 15, our army along Tungkushan and Fangshihling got hold of the tail of the fleeing enemy troops -- the 52nd division under Han Te-ch'in. After one brigade of Chiang Ting-wen was wiped out, Han Te-ch'in dared not take the route of the Kaohsing market town and Laoyingpan and changed their direction by taking the route of Tungku toward Fut'ien. When day broke, the enemy troops escaped to Fangshihling only to fall into the trap laid by our army. With violent firepower, our army blocked the escape of the enemy troops. Fighters jumped out of their trenches to surround the enemy troops on all sides. They wiped out the whole of Han Te-ch'in's 52nd division, killing one enemy brigade commander and capturing another alive. All enemies from regimental commanders down were captured alive, except for those who were killed. More than 2,000 horseloads of rifles, cannon and ammunition of the enemy transport regiment were also captured. Han Te-ch'in escaped in panic, disguised as a cook. Other units including those under Chao Kuan-t'ao and Chou Hun-yuan dared not

engage our army and fled in the direction of Chi-an. Chiang Kai-shek, who once clamored for destroying our Central Red Army in three months, lost 30,000 of his 300,000 troops in less than three months and the rest were badly mowed. Chiang had no choice but to slip back to Nanking with his anguished generals.

The other side of the Kan River is red. Having won the victory in its 3rd anti-"encirclement and suppression" campaign, the Red Army was able to link up the base areas in southern Kiangsi and western Fukien and turn them into a Red region with 21 counties and a population of 2.5 million. In November 1931, the Central Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Government was solemnly inaugurated in Juichin. The water of the Kan River flows merrily as the song of triumph is sung and red flags flutter in the rain and wind over Juichin city!

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Commodity -- An Autobiography* (Concluded)

by

Ching Ch'ih (景池)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 18, 1975)

Falling Leaves Herald Autumn

The guns of the October Revolution gave birth to a completely new social system in the history of mankind, the socialist system. The inception of socialist society brought an end to the golden era of my prolonged journey. This great turning point was marked by the withdrawal of labor force from our family.

In capitalist society the workers as the source of labor force have nothing except the chains around their necks. They can only sell their labor force to the capitalist and accept his exploitation and oppression. They have suffered untold privations. It is the radiance of Marxism that has illuminated their journey in history. It is the invincible vanguard of the proletariat that has led their great struggles. Since the appearance of the communist parties in the world they have picked up the weapons and smashed their fetters under the guidance of the Marxist line. After overthrowing the bourgeoisie, they have created a new world on the ruins of the old one. Take the Chinese working class as an example. Following the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they have gradually wiped out the imperialist, bureaucrat-capitalist and feudal systems of ownership, gradually transforming the ownership system of national capitalists and individual laborers, establishing socialist ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by the toiling masses. In this way the workers, peasants and other laboring people have become the masters of the state and society. The era in which the workers had to sell their labor force is gone forever. According to the basic principles of our family, one cannot sell himself to himself. That is why the withdrawal of labor force from our family is in fact by force of circumstances and stands to reason.

The impact of labor force's withdrawal from our family has been immense. Before labor force joined our family, the pace of our family's development was very slow, with negligible change in the course of hundreds of years. Once labor force became a member of our family we began to move and pick up speed like a steam-engine. But in socialist society labor force has to leave our family for good. "The falling leaves herald autumn." His departure has led to the parting of such resources as

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* For the first and second parts of this article, see SPRCM Nos. 830 and 834.

mineral deposits, waterways, national forests and wasteland -- resources our family once had access to. My sighs in facing this situation served no useful purpose. If it is said that the transition from the feudal society to the capitalist society marked a turning point in my life and gave me a big boost, then the transition from capitalism to communism has been a greater turning point for me. The change that has occurred has caused me to gradually orient myself to the next stage of my existence.

The Returning Swallows Look Familiar

"The chilling autumn wind has blown again in a world that has changed." History has turned a new page. But this does not mean the end of my life. I still shoulder my share of the historical mission in socialist society. I still have a long way to go in my life's journey.

Some of my readers may ask whether my existence is closely related with the innumerable different instances of ownership in this world. Since the system of public ownership of the means of production is now practiced in socialist society, what part of the historical mission do I have to fulfill? In socialist society, I would counter by asking, are there no different instances of ownership? In a broader sense, there is ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, two different types of ownership. One article published in the No. 3, 1975 issue of Study and Criticism, it will be recalled, cites some interesting figures to throw light on this problem. According to the article,which bases its computation on the per-mow yield of marketable grain, from 1971 to 1973, the Tachai brigade made 425 catties while the August 2 brigade scored 423 catties. In the distribution to commune members the daily labor value for the whole year for Tachai brigade in the past seven years was ¥1.50, with ¥1.37 at the peak for August 2 brigade and only ¥1.06 in 1973.

The "marketable grain" referred to in the article is a member of our family, respectively belonging to Tachai brigade and all the production teams of August 2 brigade, not owned by the whole people. To obtain the "marketable grain" collectively owned by the two brigades, enterprises practicing ownership by the whole people or collective ownership have to produce their own commodities for exchange at equal values. The two brigades likewise have to exchange their own commodities for the means of production and consumption such as tractors, chemical fertilizer, cloth and knitwear produced by undertakings practicing ownership by the whole people. This exchange relationship involving two different types of ownership occurs every day. Why is it that I have to be present in the exchange between the two types of ownership? This is because the means of production and products identified with one ownership system belong to the people of the whole country while those identified with the other system belong to a certain collective. This distinction between one ownership system and another means that they are different from each other, the difference being that both are not related to private ownership. This recalls the phrase "the returning swallows

appear familiar." In socialist society I am still needed to undertake a requisite historical mission and this enables me to have new scope. However, how to adapt myself to the new surroundings presents new dimensions in approach as far as I myself am concerned. I am no longer able to go on in the same old rut. But this will be brought up later so I just leave it here.

Let me go back to the article about August 2 brigade, which points out among other things the difference in labor value for the whole year between the two brigades concerned. The difference lies in the fact that while both practice collective ownership their means of production and products are respectively owned by the two brigades and their production teams. A collective ownership unit is in fact a collective owner. Those enterprises based on the system of collective ownership have been formed on a voluntary basis by individual laborers in accordance with prescribed limits under the leadership of the proletariat. Their basic means of production which were previously privately owned by individual households have now been collectively owned by the laboring masses. Individually-operated agriculture, handicraft industry and commerce, which originally existed in China, have basically achieved socialist transformation and established collective ownership by the toiling masses. In the rural areas this assumes the form of the higher agricultural producers' cooperative in the past and the people's commune at present. The people's commune practices three-level ownership, with the production team as the base and with each production team, brigade and commune acting as a different owner. Between these different owners what each needs from the other is obtained through exchange at equal value. Thus I have greater scope.

My survival and development is contingent upon social economic conditions. Apart from the existence of different types of ownership, I likewise have inseparable links with social division of work that exists alongside different owners. Under socialist conditions, enterprises practicing ownership by the whole people are primarily engaged in industrial production, with collective ownership devoted primarily to agricultural production. This social division of labor necessarily precludes the possibility of any individual departments or units operating in a self-sufficient manner, but makes each dependent on the products of the other side. Different types of ownership in turn determine that commodity is the only product that both sides need. This is because commodity is generated from the different types of ownership for purposes of exchange, not products for their own consumption.

In this sense, enterprises practicing ownership by the whole people should have the same owner -- "the whole people." Enterprises operating on the basis of this system likewise need each other's products. For instance, steel mills need coal from the collieries and cast iron from the foundries. On the other hand, collieries need steel supplies and machine tools. Plants making machine tools also need steel products and electricity.... In such a case enterprises between themselves should be able to be free to take from each other those

products that are needed. The products in question should not be commodities and this would make my exit from the arena a moot point. As a matter of fact, all I need to do is quote from Marx, who said when he was studying the process of my birth: "Once an object outside us becomes a commodity, the resulting counter action would turn its common proper ties into commodities." ("Capital," Vol. I, Complete Works of Marx and Engels.) This principle is likewise applicable to socialist society. The exchange of products between enterprises practicing ownership by the whole people and collective ownership means exchange of commodities, as are products exchanged within enterprises operating on the basis of ownership by the whole people. Since my knowledge of commodity exchange as practiced in the latter category of enterprises is limited by my inexperience and rather short existence in socialist society, you will excuse me for my lack of clarity in explaining the matter. However, if you keep in mind what is stated below you will probably get some idea of the commodity exchange undertaken within the framework of ownership by the whole people. This means that products exchanged between enterprises practicing ownership by the whole people do have a dual character, that is use value and value. Keeping this dual character is precisely what I am supposed to do.

As regards agricultural products obtained from the private plots of the members of the rural people's communes and those products derived from sideline production, they belong to the commune members. Apart from those products for the consumption of the commune members themselves, the marketable portion of these products is of course considered as commodities.

In socialist society all the members of our family move freely between two types of ownership and between units within one category of ownership. Commodities such as tractors, chemical fertilizers and industrial goods for daily use keep flowing to the rural areas while grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops are taken to the cities incessantly. They promote the economic relations between socialist industry and agriculture and between town and country as this is helpful to consolidating the worker-peasant alliance.

I come into contact with people every day. In socialist society where the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is practiced, distribution to one and all by means of money, with distribution to the commune members partly in money and partly in kind, is the order of the day. With money, a "pampered" member of our family, people can buy items for daily use from the shops. This is also a kind of commodity exchange.

These are part of my new historical mission in socialist society. My meager contribution to mankind during my lifespan makes me feel that I have not spent my life in vain.

As a matter of fact people have been discussing every day the question of my fate in socialist society. As far as I know, people have on numerous occasions debated on my destiny.

To "Abolish" Or To "Perpetuate Forever"?

It is not surprising at all for the question of my destiny in socialist society to be debated since man's knowing has to follow a certain course. However, because of the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society the debate on the question of my destiny is invariably linked with class struggle. This is worthy of our attention. In the past half a century I have pondered over the question of my destiny in socialist society and arrived at the conclusion that two major reactionary trends have mainly prevailed. One group favors "abolition" and another advocates "eternity."

This controversy first appeared in the Soviet Union in the 1920's. Prior to that period the young Soviet regime practiced supervision of industry and procured surplus grain in the rural areas. This mobilization of most members of our family for unified allocation and distribution by the Soviet government to the armed forces and the urban and rural areas, known as "wartime communism," was aimed at smashing imperialist aggression abroad and rebellion of white bandits at home. It was at that time that my movement was considerably restricted. By 1920 the Soviet government had shattered armed intervention and quelled domestic revolt. A new economic policy was subsequently adopted. A stormy discussion then took place in that country over my destiny.

In the controversy the group in favor of "abolition" was led by Trotsky, who stood for the "tightening the screw" approach and advocated placing all the available supplies of grain, agricultural and subsidiary products as well as industrial goods under state control, This process of direct distribution implied that I would be "abolished." The reason given was that dropping me, being no different from capitalism, would mean wiping out capitalism. I was both dismayed and shocked. It is true I emerged from the womb of capitalism but I am not capitalism itself. The charge against me was unfounded and only revealed Trotsky's ignorance and misrepresentation. My fears of being wiped out were dispelled by considerations such as both the peasants in the rural areas and handicraft workers in the cities in the Soviet Union at that time bestirred themselves following my emergence. If Trotsky really wanted to get rid of me, the peasants and handicraftsmen would secretly take the members of our family to such far-flung places as to cause widespread economic dislocations in society. This would block normal channels and disrupt the supply of grain to the workers and industrial goods to the peasants. In the wake of the break-up of the worker-peasant alliance, the proletarian dictatorship would fall apart while capitalism would be restored. Therefore, any forcible move to eliminate me in contravention of the law of my survival would only bring about a capitalist restoration instead of uprooting it. I found out later that this was the real motive behind Trotsky's move to "abolish" me.

The group that was in favor of "eternity" during the controversy was represented by Bukharin, who advocated giving me absolute "freedom" so I could survive forever. He not only suggested that I move freely

across the country but proposed abolishing the Soviet "monopoly of foreign trade." In addition, he was in favor of my leaving and entering the country as I pleased. Hence he was openly against writing clauses pertaining to capitalism and the small commodity economy into the Program of the Bolshevik Party. Bukharin's idea of giving me unlimited "freedom" was of course in accord with my natural inclination but he was in fact blind to the advent of the great era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution in the history of mankind. Since I was already in the decline any bid to restore my youth was contrary to the tide of the times.

The two reactionary trends that had prevailed in the Soviet Union at the time were rightly criticized by Lenin, who acted in accord with the law of socialist development. This is because during the period of "wartime communism" it was essential that the Soviet government place quite a few members of our family under control so the state could make direct allocations. Without recourse to this measure the war could not be won. Following the victory of the war the adoption of a "new economic policy" was also essential, since small commodity production predominated in the Soviet Union at the time. The economic relations between the working class and the peasants could only be commodity relationship under the guidance of the unified planning of a socialist state. To obtain the grain produced by the peasants and their other agricultural by-products, the working class must exchange them with industrial goods. This form of commodity exchange is the only form that is acceptable to the peasants. Therefore, abolishing commodity production and commodity exchange is altogether impractical. This should of course be carried out under the state's planning and guidance, and not without restrictions as is practiced in capitalist society. Moreover, judging from the general trend in social development, commodity production and commodity exchange will finally disappear in the wake of a proliferation of social products, their "eternal" existence being out of question. Under socialist conditions, as long as commodity production and commodity exchange exist, capitalism and the bourgeoisie will inevitably be engendered. If no restrictions are imposed the generation of capitalism and new bourgeois elements will occur on a massive scale.

The controversy that swept the Soviet Union at that time in the main decided my status and role in socialist society. As far as I was concerned, this would conform to reality and therefore I had nothing to complain about. But those new and old bourgeois elements were mindful of this and they tried to reverse the verdict on me when the moment was ripe. Instead of reversing verdicts on my behalf, they of course did so for the purpose of reversing the verdicts on themselves in my name. Turning to the subject of the establishment in China of a socialist society of proletarian dictatorship, the followers of Trotsky and Bukharin like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Ch'en Po-ta picked up the trash of Trotsky and Bukharin and clamored for my "abolition" and tried to do away with the law of value. They alternately stirred up the wind of "communism" to wreck the worker-peasant alliance by calling for the "abolition" of money and trumpeted the "four major freedoms" and

"San-tzu I-pao" to stir up the "bourgeois" wind, vainly trying to turn the socialist economy into the capitalist economy. All these were aimed at restoring capitalism in an all-round manner. In dealing with the question concerning me, this band of renegades and traitors combined the functions of the two reactionary trends discussed in the preceding paragraphs. However, under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, the reactionary clamors of this band were no better than the "mayflies lightly plotting to topple the giant tree."

Going back to the question about my role in socialist society in engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie, I would say that some people within the revolutionary ranks are often hazy about this matter and therefore are lax in imposing the necessary restrictions on me. Therefore, there is the danger of going revisionist. Russians like Khrushchev and Brezhnev are the "new" poisonous weeds fostered by me under socialist conditions. Their rise to power has something to do with the failure of the Soviet people to tighten restrictions under the proletarian dictatorship due to their inexperience and inadequate knowledge of my true nature. The present degeneration of the Soviet society has brought about the all-round restoration of capitalism. Despite the socialist signboard still carried by Brezhnev and the like, the verdict on my case has been completely reversed. Commented one Soviet revisionist intellectual: "It will be impossible for commodity production under the socialist system to bring about exploitation of the commodity producers or to engender capitalism and transform it into the capitalist mode of commodity production." This doctrine in respect of commodity production is nothing more than bluffing and is of course not applicable to my case.

True Nature That Defies Change

A popular saying goes, "It would be easier to remove mountains and rivers than to change one's true nature." This is quite true. In my case, for instance, if I change my nature I cease to be myself. Despite the vicissitudes of life and in my long lifespan, I have remained unchanged as far as my true nature is concerned.

In a nutshell, my two-fold nature embodies the unity of the opposites -- use value and value. In other words, without repeating what I have already enumerated in the first part of this article as well as in the foregoing paragraphs, social production has ceased commodity production for the sake of its value as practiced in a capitalist society but for its use value. This is because only the use value of a commodity can meet the needs of the state and the people as required in material life. As a commodity I therefore possess the two-fold nature of having both use value and value, a complex of two things that continues to exist in a socialist society. It is this unity of the opposites, use value and value, that has brought me into being and given rise to contradictions.

City dwellers consume grain produced by rural people's communes which practice collective ownership. As far as the people's commune is concerned, this marketable grain has only value and no direct

use value. This is because the commune sells marketable grain to the state for money, which is then used to exchange for commodities needed by the commune members in both production and daily living. Therefore, grain production engaged by the commune is to meet the needs of the state and the people, that is, for its use value. This is a key aspect. On the other hand, the commune does not produce grain for its own consumption but uses grain to exchange for other commodities. This establishes the value of grain. The same is true of enterprises operated on the basis of ownership by the whole people. A tractor factory serves the rural people's communes and state-run farms. It does not produce tractors for its own use. By the same token, the value of tractors is established when state-run enterprises sell tractors to the people's communes while the latter sell grain to the state. The value of tractors is thus determined when they are sold to state-owned farms at fixed prices. If commodities are sold according to quoted prices, they possess use value as far as the consumers are concerned. As regards the tractors sold to state-owned farms at fixed prices their value can then be realized. If commodities are sold on the basis of their value, both their use value and value are established as far as the consumers and producers of these commodities are concerned. Only in these circumstances is the contradiction between use value and value resolved. In the event the commodities produced are not marketable, meaning that use value and value are not determined in terms of the consumers and producers alike, then the contradiction between the two factors will come to a head. If the commodities produced are sold higher than their value, the buyers in this case are the losers because they have to pay more for them. But as far as the sellers are concerned, they are the gainers. Conversely, if the commodities produced are sold at less than their value, the buyers in this case are the gainers while the vendors the losers. My two-fold character therefore has given rise to a host of contradictions.

In terms of money my value is expressed in price. When commodities appear at lower or higher than their value, a deviation will result between price and value. This deviation will affect the income of those different units which expend the same amount of labor in producing commodities. This suggests one type of bourgeois rights that is likely to induce some people to be keen on the production of those commodities that involve less labor but may bring more income. The revisionist line of "putting profit in command" dished up by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao was shaped up on the basis of this type of bourgeois rights. Because this line embodies bourgeois rights as its economic base it in turn becomes a tool for widening bourgeois rights, being acceptable to a few new bourgeois elements and those who want to be upgraded as newly engendered bourgeois elements in addition to deceiving muddle-headed people. Some people totally disregard my use value when directing and organizing enterprise production. Instead, they devote themselves to what is called "putting production value in command," another word for putting profit in command. In these circumstances they just produce what is profitable and disregard whether the products are needed by the state and the people. Consequently, some members of our family possessing high production value and fetching greater profits

have come into favor and become popular. Production keeps going up, with the output of those commodities of low production value and small profit falling steadily. Those neglected members of our family in many cases are needed by people.

In capitalist society what the capitalists pursue is not the use value of products but the increase in value so as to make profits and get rich quick. They flock to where money can be made aplenty. To make money, they stop at nothing. Consequently, despite the enormous quantities of commodities produced they have to be kept in the warehouse due to the impoverishment of the vast numbers of laboring people. This has given rise to an antagonistic contradiction within me between my use value and value and gripped me with fears of destruction. In socialist society planned development goes with orderly regulation. Whenever certain categories of commodities are found over-produced, their output is decreased through state planning. Conversely, when certain ranges of items are found in short supply their production is stepped up through the same channel. Thus the contradiction that arises within me ceases to develop into an antagonistic one due to the regulating effects of planned development. But this contradiction will intensify if profit or production value is "placed in command." In some cases socialist production may even lapse into the capitalist mode of commodity production geared to the pursuit of profit. In the Soviet Union today this process of restoration has been completed. Since Khrushchev and Brezhnev came to power, a "new economic system" geared to the profit motive has been formulated. Consequently, in a bid to pursue greater profits and gain more money no efforts have been spared to use every deceitful trick to produce shoddy stuff. Soviet revisionism in particular has found arms and ammunition a big money earner so arms production has been geared up to be sold at high prices on the international arms market. This has resulted in a short supply of non-military products, especially light industrial items for daily use and agricultural by-products. Consequently, many members of our family have been prevented from coming into being in the Soviet Union; those who have an abnormal or even deformed condition at the time of their birth. This has led in the Soviet Union to the formation of a group of professional people who "whisper" to their customers about the supply of certain ranges of commodities not available on the counters, that is, on payment of commission. These speculators are so omnipotent that a mere gesticulation could conclude under-the-counter deals in those commodities that are in short supply. In these shady transactions, aircraft, trains and cars are used for long-distance trafficking purposes. As a band of newly engendered bourgeois elements, they are the pampered children of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique, a component part of the social basis of Soviet revisionism. What they are today is closely related to my unchanged nature. The purpose of the Soviet revisionist attempt to reverse the verdict on me and to embellish me despite my fading features is to deceive the world in order to seek fame. I am not involved in their bid to uphold their bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeois interests.

"Money Doesn't Stink"?

Nearly two thousand years ago a Roman emperor named Vespasian one day hit upon the idea of levying tax on the use of the toilets. His son advised him against using this offensive form of levy. Instead, the emperor reprimanded his son and snapped back: "Have nothing to fear for money doesn't stink." This reference to money has since become the credo of all the exploiting classes in their despicable pursuit of money.

In socialist society money still constitutes a thing of generally equal value. Its contribution to socialist construction enterprises is a positive one since it forges the economic ties between town and country and between the worker and the peasant. Like the other members of our family, money after all is the residue of the private economy and its nature remains unchanged. My value has a natural appeal and money gives expression to my value. Hence, money possesses a much greater appeal. This of course does not apply to everything. Under the condition of the proletarian dictatorship, the vast numbers of the laboring masses have considerably raised their consciousness through socialist education. In these circumstances it would be difficult for money to lure them. Let us relate an incident which occurred at No. 2 Hotel, Chungwenmen, in Peking in 1974. Hotel attendants found 28 wrist watches and ¥1,187 in cash left behind by a traveler. Without caring in the least, they turned over the find to the authorities so the owner could be located. This instance of not keeping to oneself things left behind by others is a common occurrence in socialist China and similar cases are too numerous to mention. Since the bourgeoisie exists in a vast country such as China, inveterate money worshippers in the fetish tradition would naturally take advantage of money's intrinsic worth to continue recruiting new adherents. During the "san-fan" and "wu-fan" movements, Wang K'ang-nien, a lawless capitalist in Shanghai, used money to drag more than 80 cadres into the bourgeois mire. Reactionaries like Lin Piao, however, are zealots in this sense. Lin Piao once said blatantly, "There is only one thing in the world that is reliable and that is money." Look, this fellow was really obsessed with money.

In capitalist society the capitalist has this phrase on his lips: "Money can evoke supernatural powers." This saying is no longer popular in socialist society. However, the fact exists that having money means having access to commodities so Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao altered this catchword to mean "material incentive," declaring that "it is still necessary to have material incentives." I know this "material incentive" only too well, being equivalent to incentives or inducements in the form of money and commodities, a copy of the saying that "money can evoke supernatural powers." Under the spell of men like Lin Piao, some people have indeed been taken in by such deceptive utterances as "Having money gets things done and having no money gets nowhere." These people try every means to take possession of the members of our family, particularly money. Some people have even compared "material incentive" to beancurd that emits an offensive smell, something

that smells bad but tastes good. The Soviet Union today has already become a devil's paradise, a living hell. Brezhnev has openly declared that "the ruble is the locomotive." In the belief that "men of courage will appear if they are offered high reward" the vast numbers of laboring people in the Soviet Union have thus been subjected to abject misery and untold privations.

The function of money in socialist society is no different from its role in the old society. Money can buy all those things that have become available. While the sale of certain items is legally banned in socialist society, under certain conditions they can be purchased with money through illegal channels. The sale of labor force, for instance, ought be prohibited. It should be so when the toiling people have become the masters of the state and of society. However, because bourgeois rights exist in socialist society some laboring people may encounter difficulties in their daily life. This is tempting to those new and old bourgeois elements who have access to large amounts of money. Labor force is what can bring them surplus value and this means a source of wealth. Therefore, as long as money exists, equality among people can only be rhetorical in sense. This is because those who are in possession of money can under given conditions transform money into capital and even practice so-called wage-labor exploitation. During the "four clean-ups" movement in China in the past, it is said, a number of cases involving the operation of the so-called "underground factories" were uncovered. In this type of underground operations money had in fact become capital, with the workers of these factories working for the capitalists. These "underground factories" are illegal in a socialist state of proletarian dictatorship and they are suppressed whenever they are uncovered. But in the Soviet Union this type of underground operations has surfaced and become above-the-ground factories as all industrial enterprises and farms in that country have become the slaughter-houses of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie for exploiting the laboring people.

Pervasive Presence

In capitalist society the principle of exchange at equal value espoused by our family occupies a dominant position in society. The socialist revolution has fostered a new type of socialist relations between men that is unrelated to commodity exchange relations. Within the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries in particular, there is a fine tradition of comradely solicitude that has manifested itself in supporting and assisting one another. However, to prosper, our family must pervade all aspects of social life and particularly the political sphere. Only when the principle of commodity exchange at equal value is applied universally can our family strike root and flourish.

To explain the pervasive presence of the principle of exchange at equal value, let me cite a simple illustration. When you go to the market every day and pay for the foodstuffs you buy or have your meals at the mess hall with the coupons you have paid for, isn't all this an exchange at equal value? Furthermore, your wage or workpoints you have

earned is likewise money in an amount that corresponds to the amount of labor you have furnished to society after some deductions. This in principle is also exchange at equal value. In the long run many people have regarded our family's principle of exchange at equal value as an unalterable principle of receiving what one has expended. This principle not only underlies the economic exchanges between people but also profoundly affects their social life. In the case of receiving a gift, for instance, the recipient may consider returning something to the giver. Or the recipient may accept the gift with a sense of justification in return for some service he may have rendered to the other party. In either case, the exchange is within the framework of the principle of exchange at equal value, a principle that seems all pervasive in its implications.

In China today the principle of exchange at equal value espoused by our family has not fared as well as we would have desired. The journey it has traversed has been a rough one, often full of setbacks. Last year a construction project group in Shanghai undertook to build additional plant premises for a certain factory. Brimming with vigor, the workers of the construction group completed the job with high quality and according to specifications. The factory naturally wanted to thank the team of workers. A popular commodity produced by that factory, that is, a member of our family, was suggested as an exchange for the "completion of a job ahead of schedule, with high quality and according to specifications." The factory leadership's offer to the leadership of the construction project group, proposing that each member of the group could buy a popular item at a reduced price, was turned down. The reason given was that the principle of exchange at equal value applicable to enterprises practicing the socialist system of ownership by the whole people and in keeping with the communist style of work should not be extended to relationships between individuals to the detriment of the interests of the state and the collective. While this sort of setback involving me has been of frequent occurrence, things sometimes have developed without a hitch. Things like "you have helped me" and "I keep this in mind" -- a sort of exchange for favors or conveniences given to each other -- are the life philosophy of a section of people. The relationship between these people has been forged by this kind of exchange, resulting in a free flow of products like crabs, fish and dates from a certain commune-run factory to a certain state-operated factory in appreciation for the latter's help in solving some production problems. Just imagine, hasn't this kind of exchange really prevailed? And hasn't the principle of exchange applied by our family permeated all aspects of social life?

In addition, this principle of exchange at equal value has likewise pervaded political life and even Party life. P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao all personified commodities. Strictly speaking, they were just part of us. It is they who brought the principle of exchange at equal value to political and Party life. P'eng Te-huai looked upon the Communist Party as a corporation and himself, a Party member, as its partner. Following the victory of the revolution, the Party had to install this "major shareholder" in an important post and give him a large amount of "dividend." P'eng Te-huai

had of course miscalculated. The Chinese Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought could not satisfy his wild ambitions. At the 1959 Lushan Conference he bared his ferocious features by forming an anti-Party "military club" and dishing out a letter giving his anti-Party views to frenziedly attack the Party. The other one was Lin Piao, a bigger warlord than P'eng Te-huai. He openly trumpeted the idea that he had sneaked into the revolutionary ranks for the purpose of concluding a big deal that would bring him "a hundred-fold profit." According to his way of putting it, "holding political power means having access to everything" -- naturally implying "a hundred-fold profit." He also applied the principle of commodity exchange in setting up mountain strongholds, recruiting sworn supporters and forming black headquarters. He preached again and again "luring people into accepting official appointments, emoluments and favors." Whoever was willing to work for him would be given high posts and attractive stipends in exchange. Wasn't this equivalent to exchange at equal value? He had united with his sworn supporters on the basis of the principle of exchange at equal value. One of his sworn supporters preached about what was called "political investment" while another said, "Following the right person means becoming prosperous and following the wrong person leads to getting smashed to pieces." This is indeed the language of outright counter-revolutionary political speculators.

Within the Chinese Communist Party people like P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao are indeed very few, numbering just a handful at most. But quite a few have looked upon revolution as investment and joining the Party as entering into a partnership. The principle of exchange at equal value espoused by our family has likewise soaked up the souls of these people. They openly ask the Party to provide them with positions and to bestow upon them honors and the comforts of life commensurate with their positions and in accord with the principle of exchange at equal value. Failing to get these, they give rein to bourgeois factionalism and make a scene in disregard of the overall situation. Like invisible fetters the principle of exchange at equal value has been fastened to their necks. To speak the truth, when a person has come to such a pass it would not be difficult at all for me to further transform him into a new bourgeois element.

New Poisonous Weeds on Old Soil

You already know that it is my nature to engender bourgeois elements. In the Soviet Union today degeneration of that country into a state of social imperialism has resulted in the transformation of socialist ownership by the whole people into ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie. This new poisonous weed has found the most congenial soil for its growth. What follows is a translation of passages of an article carried in Pravda of December 10, 1974. They illustrate my relations with the newly engendered bourgeois elements:

> How many camels has our famous Su-yu-no-fu (苏尤诺夫)? Estimates vary. One guess places the number at 30-50, another at over 100.

> What are these camels for? He is not like those in ancient times, walking in big strides before the camel caravan. His job, a most modern one, is chief engineer of the second zone of the Ka-la-ku-mu canal project. But Su-yu-no-fu is quite at home with his herd. His explanation: Camel meat can fetch good prices and the superior features of first-class camel fur is a household word. Camel's milk is good for making an invigorating beverage. The market price of camels is 1,200 rubles each. Five camels are worth a small car and eight camels are good for a new Volga.
>
> When the camels wander away too far afield he boards a chartered helicopter parked in his private football field. Aloft in the sky, the master scans the broad plain as the vehicle flies from one place to another.

That is enough. From the Soviet revisionist account given above it is clear that an intellectual aristocrat boasts a chartered helicopter, a private football field and private property worth a dozen Volga sedans. In addition, he hires men to look after his cattle. This sort of person never forgets commodities and money. In the Soviet Union he is just a small fry. There are innumerable big shots in that country, with Brezhnev as their chief representative. Regarding this category of people, Pravda as the organ of Soviet revisionism naturally has to be reticent about their doings.

My existence in socialist society indicates that the soil for engendering bourgeois elements still exists. This is because whoever possesses me has access to wealth, which means power. And power can gratify his greed. Although I am subjected to restrictions in a powerful China of proletarian dictatorship, I have never ceased planting new poisonous weeds on this old soil. Some of the new bourgeois elements I have fostered are former small producers, some are black sheep from among the worker ranks. Still others are renegades from the Communist Party, with others being degenerate elements of the state organs. These people came from different quarters yet they are characterized by their greed. Like blood hounds they open their eyes wide and sniff with their noses in search of us, ready to eat me up at a mouthful. They are a batch of upstarts. In China Lin Piao personified a new upstart. "As long as I can grab a little more, who cares about a land denuded of grass." This is a most vivid illustration of the inner world of Lin Piao and other new upstarts. They differ from the old bourgeois upstarts who generally have personal control of the means of production and openly exploit wage-labor. The new upstarts on the other hand are restricted by proletarian dictatorship so they are generally engaged in getting hold of commodities and money through legal as well as illegal channels. Therefore, the units under their control have to display the signboard of socialism, which in fact remains only in

name. This approach reminds one of the white ants eroding the internal structure of a building until only the external facade remains. It is quite natural that once the termites have eaten away the socialist edifice it will be time for a capitalist restoration. These new upstarts therefore generally possess the features of double-dealers. It is quite out of my expectation that these people have been engendered under our wings, though their appearance is inevitable.

Rivers Flow into the Seas

In socialist society I have not for a single moment stopped fostering new poisonous weeds, nor has proletarian dictatorship ceased restricting my actions. The moment I go beyond the bounds, the iron hand of proletarian dictatorship will drag me back and keep me within the bounds. Similarly, once new poisonous weeds appear the iron shovel of proletarian dictatorship will uproot them and turn them into fertilizer. In a word, I can no longer run amuck as I did in capitalist society but must follow a prescribed course of action. This state of affairs reminds me of a story I heard in my childhood several thousand years ago.

Ancient China at the time of Yao and Shun several thousand years ago was flooded by torrential waters seriously threatening the lives and property of the people. Yao immediately dispatched a person named Kun to tame the flood. Kun was unfamiliar with flood control and where there was flood he promptly took steps to stop the overflow. As a result the surging waters spread unchecked. Yao was later succeeded by Shun, who assigned Kun's son, Yü, to tame the flood. The latter understood the law governing the flow of water so he dredged waterways to divert the flood waters into the rivers and then to the East China Sea. Of course the nature of water could not be changed and flooding continued to occur when the moment was ripe. However, with embankments holding back water, the torrents were after all enclosed and made to flow to the seas. I have often secretly asked myself: Isn't my position under the proletarian dictatorship somewhat similar to that of the turbulent waters harnessed by Yü?

For more than 20 years the Chinese proletariat and the laboring people have firmly grasped the magic weapon known as the proletarian dictatorship. They have resolutely supported the members of our family, labor force, mineral resources, waterways, national forests, etc., to rise in rebellion and in attempts to sever their ties with my family. This has been a fatal blow to our family, in comparison with our happier days in capitalist times. Following the establishment of the socialist economy, the law of planned development of the socialist economy has more and more played an immense regulating role. Under this form of regulation, all members of our family are subjected to restrictions that limit the time and frequency of our births and curb the variety and range of commodities that are to be produced. In this way the functions and scope of the law of value, which previously dominated our family's activities, have been considerably restricted. While the law of value still functions to a certain extent, it must stress planning rather than pricing. With production placed under systematic planning,

distribution and circulation likewise are kept under control. All basic means of consumption, such as grain, edible oils and piecegoods, are produced, distributed and circulated in a planned manner. For more than 20 years the market prices of these basic items have largely remained stable, thanks to the fruitful result achieved under the dictatorship of the proletariat in imposing restrictions on the commodity system. I have traveled all over the world and have a clear idea about the prevailing market conditions in all countries. It is indeed something rare for a country like yours to keep the consumer prices of basic items stable in the past 20 years. Stable commodity prices and thriving markets are inseparable from instituting a system of rigid monetary control. Under this system of control our family's monetary activities have likewise been curbed.

I have regularly been to the US, called the "richest" country. But in the 26 post-war years (1946-1972) the prices of consumer goods more than doubled, with 25 million people living in poverty and at least between 30 and 35 million others approaching the "poverty line," adding up to a total of more than 50 million poverty-stricken people or more than a quarter of the aggregate US population. I have also been to the Soviet Union quite often. In the days when that country was under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, commodity prices remained basically stable and the people's living conditions were fairly good. However, since the ascent of people like Khrushchev and Brezhnev and the restoration of capitalism, commodity prices have soared and the people been plunged into the abyss of misery. According to Soviet revisionist newspapers and periodicals, the so-called "families in economic difficulty" in that country (equivalent to US families living below the "poverty line") approximately comprise one-fifth of the urban population. The state of affairs such as that existing in the two superpowers shows the extent of reactionand decay in both countries. "Two systems, two worlds" -- this is the opinion of one as experienced as me, who is qualified to make such a statement. Whenever I think of this, I come to realize that the restrictions imposed on me under the dictatorship of the proletariat are necessary curbs in the historical period of my life and therfore I have nothing to complain about.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat I can only seek development in a restricted sense, that is, subject to certain restraints. This may be compared to the torrents of the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers, which are confined to their riverbeds in their easterly flow. Once the proletariat and the vast numbers of the laboring people have grasped the theory of the proletarian dictatorship, they are like civilian workers engaged in harnessing the rivers and watching the rising and ebbing of the water levels. Whenever breaches are spotted they will immediately take steps to reinforce the dikes and embankments. Since by nature I am not accustomed to being put under restraint I continue to move about and dash forward in every direction despite actions to keep me within limits such as confining me to the riverbeds. The breaches I have constantly made have brought damage and danger to people. The restrictions imposed on me under the proletarian dictatorship have helped in curbinb such

damage. In my submissive confinement to the riverbeds, you have made no restrictions. Instead, you have encouraged me to surge forth. You are clearly aware of a lack of an abundant supply of commodities. As long as the communes have not been able to produce enough to share with the production brigades and teams and until many more products are made available from the system of ownership by the whole people for distribution to a population of 800 million according to need, there is no other alternative but to keep going with commodity production, exchange by means of money and distribution according to work. Therefore, in the entire historical period of socialism I still have to bring into play my due historical role. Until the day I am played out as far as that function is concerned, I shall then like the waters of the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers flow into the seas and never to return. Until then your offspring will watch the brilliant morning glow of communism from the shore of the East China Sea, toward the realization of a perfect communist society for which succeeding generations of the laboring people have long expected and striven unremittingly.

Closing Remarks

Looking back at my whole life span extending several thousand years and leaving my footprints all over the world, you probably have some idea about my features, character and traits. In his advanced years, Ts'ao Ts'ao, an outstanding Legalist in Chinese history, said: "There is an end to the long life of a sacred turtle. Even a mighty python riding the foggy atmosphere will finally become ashes." This remark has a dialectic touch. All things in the universe follow a course of coming into being, development and extinction. I am no exception. I am of course no fortune-teller. I cannot tell you the exact date of my departure, though the ultimate end of my life in no way can be altered.

Since I came into being and particularly in recent centuries, very little of the political strife among mankind as well as men's thoughts and actions, morality and ethics, and family life has not had something to do with the principle of exchange at equal values espoused by me and our family. It appears that by the time you have wiped out all class distinctions, all the relations of production that have engendered these differences, all social relations that conform with these relations of production, and all concepts that stem from these social relations, and when you have become used to living in a world without me, probably I will be on my way out. Why put it this way? This is because all class differences began to appear at about the same time that I came into being and we have since been together. All relations of production generated by these differences have ties with commodity relations and all social relations that conform with these relations of production have for thousands of years been dominated or swayed by commodity relations. And all concepts generated from these social relations are a reflection of commodity relations. These entangling and overlapping relations and concepts are all so closely related with me that they not only draw their strength from me but also

provide me with the basic conditions for my growth and development. Once you have uprooted these relations and concepts, I will have fulfilled my historical mission and entered the museum of history.

Who has commented on a lifetime of merits and demerits? I have already recounted all that I have experienced and done. Although it has been said that the final conclusion can only be drawn when one has passed away and been encoffined, a scientific conclusion was arrived at long ago by Marxism. If you want to know how Marxism evaluates my life and time, I suggest that you study some Marxist political economy.

Fine, let us see each other again in the realm of production and exchange!

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